PER
E
186.86
T77
v.3 , no.2
spring 1989

(3/yr.1987-
1991)

RECEIVED IN LIBRARY

DEC 0 5 1996

UNIV. OF MASS.-BOSTON

TROTTER INSTITUTE REVIEW

Spring 1989

Published by the
William Monroe Trotter Institute
University of Massachusetts at Boston

CPCS
Per.

E
185.86
T77

Volume 3, Number 2
Spring 1989

INSIDE

- 3 *Commentary: The Role of Universities in Racial Violence on Campuses*
  Wornie L. Reed
- 5 *Interview with George Guscott*
  Abha Pandya
- 9 *Welfare Reform: A Summary and Analysis of Current U.S. Congressional Debate Over the Family Security Act of 1988*
  Bette Woody
- 15 *Book Review Essays*
  Winston E. Langley
  and
  Vernon J. Williams, Jr.
- 17 *Sports Notes*
  Wornie L. Reed

Trotter Institute Review

Editor
Wornie L. Reed

Assistant Editor
Frances Stubbs

Manuscript Editor
Duncan Nelson

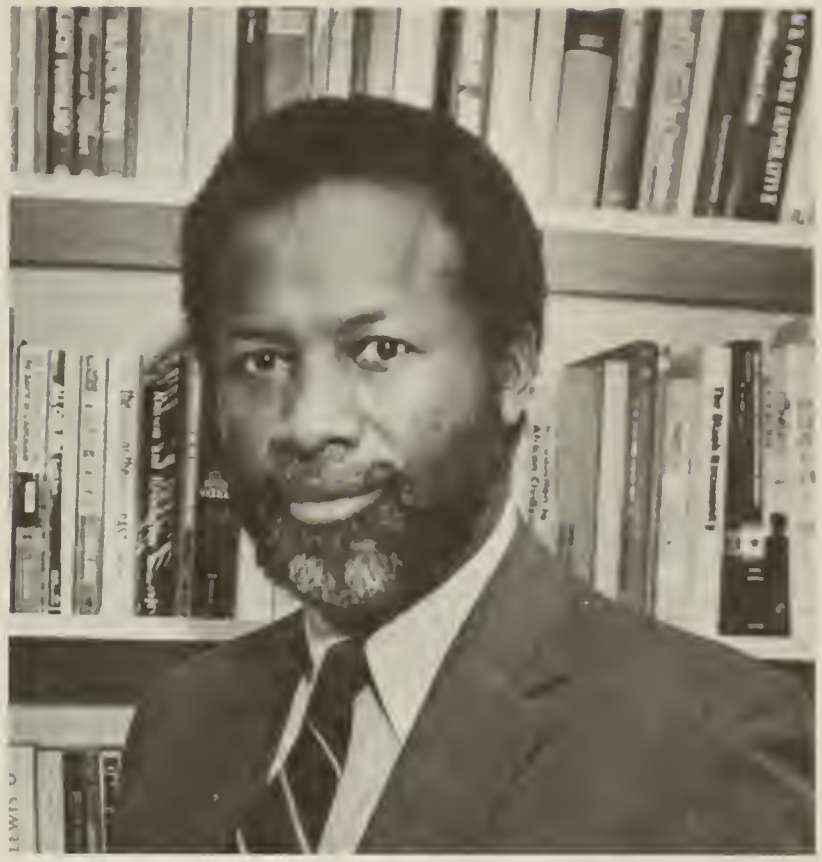
Production Editor
Linda F. Kluz

The Trotter Institute Review *is published quarterly by the William Monroe Trotter Institute, University of Massachusetts at Boston, Boston, MA 02125-3393. Subscriptions are $6.00 per year for individuals and $12 per year for institutions. Opinions expressed herein are those of the authors, or persons interviewed, and are not necessarily shared by the University or the editors.* *Copyright © 1989 The William Monroe Trotter Institute.* *ISSN 1040-6573*

Commentary

The Role of Universities in Racial Violence on Campuses

by
Wornie L. Reed



Racial violence against blacks on college campuses across the country has become a source of considerable and legitimate concern. This paper reviews the nature and extent of these incidents, discusses the national social context of their occurrence, and examines the role that universities play in the development of these incidents.

The number of racial incidents reported on college campuses in recent years has been on the increase. The International Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, located in Baltimore, documented racial incidents at 175 colleges for 1986-87. And, of course, this figure does not adequately reflect the total number of incidents as it is based solely on the events that receive newspaper coverage.

Professor William Damon gives this report in the May 3, 1989 issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education:*

> Racism and bigotry are back on campus with a vengeance. Black students have been chased and beaten at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, taunted with defamatory posters at Penn State and Stanford Universities, subjected to racist jokes on a University of Michigan radio station, and subjected to a "mock slave auction" at a fraternity house at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Ku Klux Klan signs and other white-supremacist graffiti have been splattered on dozens of college buildings across the country, from Harvard to the University of California.

Violence Against African-Americans[1]

During the past ten years several research centers have collected information on racially-motivated violence.[2] A study of the data reveals an upsurge of racism and racist violence—with the most deadly attacks coming against the African-American community. There has been an increase in the number of incidents of white mobs wielding baseball bats, threatening and even attacking blacks if they are caught stopping in segregated residential areas. There has been a steady increase in the fire-bombing of homes purchased by black families in predominately white neighborhoods. A study of violence in residential neighborhoods conducted by the Southern Poverty Law Center indicates that between 1985 and 1986 there were at least 45 cases of vigilante activity directed at black families who were moving into predominantly white communities.

The events in Howard Beach, New York, which led to the death of 23-year-old Michael Griffith, reflect a long-standing problem of racist violence in white communities in Brooklyn. For example, in 1982 a gang of young white men beat three black transit workers who stopped in Brooklyn for pizza on the way home from work; one of the black workers was killed on the spot. Black youths working in or traveling through white communities have been attacked and beaten regularly in New York City. Racially motivated assaults had increased to at least one a week in New York City by the summer of 1987.

The Chicago Police Department reported a 58% increase in racial attacks for the first six months of 1986 over the same period in 1985. The New York City Police Department reported an increase in racially-motivated violence over the last eight years. These attacks go mostly unreported in the news media.

The Community Relations Service of the Justice Department and the Center for Domocratic Renewal provide data that demonstrate a sharp upturn nationally in violent racial attacks. The increase was 42% between 1985 and 1986, largely fueled by the boldness of white terrorist groups in the United States. Nationally, the Community Relations Services of the Justice Department reports an increase in all cases of racial confrontations from 953 in 1977 to 1,996 in 1982. The Justice Department also reported a 460% increase in cases of racial violence involving the Ku Klux Klan between 1978 and 1979, and a startling 550% increase in the period 1978 to 1980.

Violence on College Campuses

Violence and hostilities towards blacks have occurred at a wide variety of universities. Two years ago at the Citadel Military Academy, five white cadets dressed in Klan robes invaded a black student's room. A few months later a cross was burned in front of a black cultural center at Purdue University, and two weeks after that the phrase "death to Niggers" was found carved into an office door. Buildings at Smith College were defaced with racist slogans. Racist graffiti was reported to be "everywhere" at Florida State University. Racist fliers were slipped under the doors to black women's rooms stating that it was "open season" on "porch monkeys" and "jigaboos." Following a speech by Jesse Jackson in February of 1987 at Northern Illinois University, flyers were spread over campus with racist threats and swastikas, and a student magazine printed racist poetry. One of the "poems" was as follows:

O.K.,
Look nigger,
We are white.
White is supreme.
Jesus was white.
God is white.
All of our Presidents have been white.
Thank you God.

Several black students at Columbia University filed a lawsuit after being attacked by a gang of white fraternity members on campus. A mob of white students chased and beat a small group of black students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst following a World Series baseball game in 1986. During the same period of time black women at Mount Holyoke College complained that they were being harassed by white men from the same Amherst campus. A survey of campuses across the country suggests that racial hostility between students is extensive.

Influenced by adult organizations of the racist right, students at Sacramento State organized the White Student Union in 1979 as an off-shoot of the Aryan Youth Movement. Since then the White Student Union is reported to have grown from an initial three chapters to some 20 chapters across the country. A group of students claiming association with the White Student Union assaulted black students at the University of Texas at Austin. They threatened to drop a black student leader, whom they were hanging by his heels, from a dormitory window if a planned anti-apartheid demonstration on campus was not called off.

At Cornell University in 1986 a white campus bus driver threatened to run over three black male students as they crossed the street in front of the bus he was driving. At Princeton a black football player's room was broken into, and the epitaph "nigger" was sprayed across the walls. Black faculty returning to their offices after the Christmas vacation in January of 1987 at California State-Fullerton were greeted with paint-sprayed terms such as "mud race" and "nigger." Later in May of that year the director of the University Center at the University approved a poster to advertise a talent show which depicted a minstrel character. And in another incident at this school, a white fraternity, during a party, displayed a 15-foot plywood cutout of a black man with a bone in his hair, huge red lips and wearing a Tarzan outfit. In a campus poll in the winter of 1987, students at the University of Virginia said that racism is the school's biggest problem.

The Justice Department also reported a 460% increase in cases of racial violence involving the Ku Klux Klan between 1978 and 1979, and a startling 550% increase in the period 1978 to 1980.

While racist behavior is hardly a new phenomenon in colleges and universities, the evidence clearly demonstrates that racial incidents have been taking place with increased frequency in the 1980s. Whether it is student magazines or student newspaper articles defaming and ridiculing black people or outright physical aggression, racial conflict is present at a cross-section of American schools. There is a national mood on campuses that tolerates, and even encourages, campaigns to demean, harass, and intimidate black students and other minorities.

The Social Context

As bad as they are, these racial incidents are only symptoms of a slowdown in racial progress in the 1980s. This slowdown was aided and abetted, if not engineered, by the Reagan administration. This administration carried on a virtual war against racial progress with code words, code activities, and some overt actions.

They used such code words as "welfare hustlers" and "welfare queens," and suggested distinctions between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor. Perhaps their most significant "coded" activity was the kick-off of the presidential campaign in 1980 in Philadelphia, Mississippi, a city distinguished only by the fact that three civil rights workers—Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner—were lynched there in 1964. This was as clear as any signal the infamous Governor Bilbo could have given.

And once in office, this administration began a relentless attack on civil rights laws and regulations. Even Richard Nixon was too far left for them: they tried to repeal Nixon's affirmative action Executive Order.

(continued on page 18)

Interview with George Guscott

by
Abha Pandya

George Guscott

George Guscott was born in 1927 in Boston. An engineer with a degree from Northeastern University, he worked in an engineering firm for many years before branching off, very successfully, into real estate development. His firm, Long Bay Management Company, which he manages with his two brothers, is one of the largest minority-owned real estate companies in the city of Boston. In a ride in his van through Roxbury and Dorchester, Guscott proudly pointed to all the real estate he owns and spoke reflectively about the struggles and victories he encountered over the years to get to where he is today.

Aside from being a successful businessman, Guscott, a warm and congenial man who laughs easily and often, has been committed to black political development all his life, both as an observer and as a participant. He was on the board of the NAACP for ten years and says that any person of color who looks at the organization and its objectives should ask themselves, "Why aren't I in the NAACP?" He also ran a TV program called "Lift" for the NAACP for 13 years.

Guscott argues that race relations are contingent on economic development and sees race as an extension of economic relations in the United States. He suggests that race distrust is based upon economic fear and ignorance. "When there's a threat to economic welfare you find ways to hate the individual who you see as the threat," says Guscott. "No one will admit it. They may say they don't like the color of the skin or the shape of the eyes, but what they mean is fear of economic competition. If you are used to having three-quarters of the pie and may now get only half, you don't like it." He predicts that the next battle for racial equality will be in the economic arena, when people of color, black and Latino, seek to control their own economic destiny by owning and controlling their own companies.

"My people were Garveyites," says Guscott proudly, "both my mother and father. They believed and practised what Marcus Garvey stood for. My people came from Jamaica, and they knew of Garvey before they came to this country. They were very strong about the idea of 'who you are' and they instilled it in all their five children."

A millionaire who lives in a large Victorian house in Roxbury, close to much of the property he owns, Guscott says matter-of-factly, "I think I have got everything I aspired for. Most people aspire for everything they possibly can achieve. In that respect I don't know too many who succeed. But I've got a lot more than I dreamed of. Now I am more interested in those who come behind us—to help them take heed and build on what we have achieved....I want to act as a mentor....We don't have to reinvent the wheel each time...we must help and encourage people who come behind us in whatever way we can."

The Guscott brothers recently donated $300,000 to the National Center of Afro-American Artists in Roxbury. "We believe that such institutions are needed in the community. The black community has to have its own institutions," said Guscott. "We've known of Elma Lewis' school from years ago....It has had a positive effect on the community. She got sick some time ago, and the school went right down. We are hoping that this will help to bring the school back up to where it was. This is a matching grant.... We hope this will enable them to leverage dollars from other philanthropic institutions, so eventually they will have an endowment...that is badly needed. This institution is known not just locally but throughout the world."

In this interview Guscott offers up some provocative ideas about his work and about the realities of black life in this country.

Pandya: I believe you try to use minorities in much of your real estate development work?

Guscott: Wherever possible. We are not always able to accomplish that, but we do whatever is possible. We do have a development right now called the Granite 5. It is a redevelopment of 218 multi-family units in Roxbury. In that development we have approximately 50 people working, people from our construction company, plus a number of subcontractors. At any given time, of the 50 to 100 people on various sites that are working for us, better than 70% are minority. This covers a whole spectrum of disciplines from stone cutters to carpenters, painters, masons, just about any trade you can name. The

mechanical contractor is minority, the floor coverings are being handled by a minority, so is the floor sanding. So we try to use minorities whenever we can. You can do more for people by helping them economically. But it has cost us on occasion.

Pandya: Why is that?

Guscott: Because in this country minorities haven't, in most instances, got an opportunity to get grounding and experience within the construction trades. They've had, in most instances, to get it the hard way. They may not have the contacts to get materials at lower prices, like some of their majority competitors who've been in the field longer and who meet at the golf course on Sunday mornings and discuss their deals. So they had to do it the hard way.

As a consequence, on occasion, we have had to be innovative, which means that we have had to buy the materials for the various subcontractors, either because they don't have the contacts or don't have the capital to make that kind of large investment. Whenever they've had a shortfall in terms of long lead items, we've gone in and done whatever we could to solve the problem and, of course, charged them at the end of the project. That way they have been able to take the job, whereas otherwise they wouldn't even have been able to bid on it.

> *Over the years we have always tried to use minorities because we know that if we don't do it, who is going to do it?*

This is not to say all minority contractors or subcontractors are in that position. This position, of course, is not peculiar to minorities. Over the years we have always tried to use minorities because we know that if we don't do it, who is going to do it? Charity begins at home.

Pandya: Is the current construction boom in the city helping minorities? Are you a part of it?

Guscott: Yes, we are somewhat a part of it. Let me digress for a moment. For more than three years, I have belonged to an organization called the Massachusetts Association of Real Estate Brokers. This organization is geared towards minorities. It was formed in 1947 because minorities could not join the majority group. I belong to this group, and I travel around the country and make national contacts. I began to realize that there was more development potential in the Boston area than in any other city in the country. As a result of this some of us decided that we needed an organization here in Boston. The upshot is that we formed an organization called the Minority Developers Association, which has been in existence for about three years and is about to become a part of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers and Contractors.

Abha Pandya

This Association has had some contact with the city of Boston, with the powers that be, in terms of areas that need to be developed. Many of its members are in developments or in joint ventures on land that the city has owned and is now developing. So in that sense some of the minorities are participating in the boom, and this is going to help the community.

Pandya: Could you name some of these projects?

Guscott: Well, there is one sponsored by the Columbus Baptist Church. It is on Columbus Avenue at the corner of Camden Street, and it is called Douglas Plaza. Two of our members are participating in that—Taylor Associates and Larry Smith Associates.

Pandya: What about the Lena Park Development?

Guscott: Oh, that's a different kind of situation in that it is a nonprofit, community type of development. They have done some redevelopment work by hiring contractors and in some cases development consultants, whereas in the Minority Association, we do the development ourselves—through our own construction or production companies. It's a profit type of situation, which is totally different from the nonprofit. They don't have to show any profit, they can operate at a loss. Whereas when you are working for yourself or a group of investors you can't do that. It's not that I have anything against nonprofits, but I think they should stick with what they do best, which is human services. They shouldn't switch over to being developers because they just don't have the expertise or the drive to do it properly. Besides it's unfair competition because they're funded by the state.

Let me get into another thing. There is something called the Ruggles-Bedford Group. A group of minority developers and architects joined together with the Chinese community in the Bedford Street area of downtown Boston and formed the Columbia Plaza Association. They have been awarded development rights to Parcel 18 next to Northeastern University and another parcel next to Lafayette Place. In the process of doing the development they have already hooked up with a majority company. Columbia Plaza Associates have 50% of the deal,

and the deal is over $400 million. We are talking serious development, very serious development.

We are a part of that group. We were a part of the initial group that got together and decided to go after that deal in the first place. This was some years ago. Then we sought to enlist the Chinese community because the other part was in their neighborhood. This has turned out to be a very, very good situation. We have made some good contacts. We've got a better insight into the Chinese community, they've got a better insight into the black community. This situation hasn't been duplicated anywhere else in the U.S., but we are hoping to build on it. We also have a member from the Hispanic community on the project.

This is going to be setting a model for the rest of the country. We hope we can have it duplicated in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York. It's not going to be easy but at least we are setting the model.

The initial investment, before we knew whether it was worth anything, was $125,000. We raised over $2½ million. This was when this was still an idea, and you had to have the confidence to put down that kind of money because you stand to lose it. Then you are very serious. You have to be looked at in a new light, and that's what happened. The majority and minority community began to look at us differently when we came up with $2½ million, and it was equity money. In the final stages there were seven groups competing for the contract, short listed to three, and we ended up with the contract.

This is going to be setting a model for the rest of the country. We hope we can have it duplicated in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York. It's not going to be easy but at least we are setting the model.

Pandya: Tell me something about your company, The Long Bay Management Co.

Guscott: It is composed of three brothers—Ken, Cecil, and me. We are the sole owners and we have no partnerships. We did our first development in 1972. We were still working on different jobs. I am an engineer, Ken is an engineer. We decided to do this small development where my mother lives in Roxbury. I owned the building, and it had reached the point where it really needed to be fixed.

So we decided to go to the Massachusetts Housing Finance Board and get a loan. We went to them and they said it was really too small. So I went and looked at the building next door and talked to the two owners. They were willing to sell. So we bought and put together a package of 17 units and went back to Mass. Housing. They still said it was too small, so we said, "What minority development are you doing in the state?" and really raised so much noise about it. Well, that caused them to think it wasn't worth it doing any development at all with minorities. But finally they did give us a loan. So we did that development. We didn't make any money, but we didn't lose any money either because it was a learning experience. We finished it in 1973, and it is still in use. My mother still lives there, and Mass. Housing is still bringing people to look at it and boast about it. We had hardly finished before they started bringing people around, showing off, saying "We did it." And here we had to drag them kicking and screaming. Typical bureaucracy.

In 1979 HUD offered another property—227 units—and we bought these for $1.2 million. These were sold with a subsidy. This was in the Roxbury/Dorchester area, and it took us maybe five years to turn that around before it was paying for itself. In the meantime we started to develop this block on Massachusetts Avenue where our offices are located. These were all abandoned buildings, empty, boarded up, and this took us a couple of years to develop. We got this from the BRA.

Then we bought this old warehouse at the corner of Washington Street and Columbus Avenue in Roxbury and converted that into offices which are rented by the state. What was interesting about this development was that we just had an open fence when construction was going on, and we never lost anything. There was never any vandalism. We never had a guard, we only put a dog out at night, and we never lost anything. People were telling us this is a bad place, you're going to lose stuff, you can't do this. I bought 240 hemlock plants for the garden and these were lying on the lot for two or three days and nobody got them—not a plant—and these things cost $35 to $45 apiece. We decided to have a lot of glass and the state said: "No, you must have bars on windows. We are going to have more than a hundred computers in those offices." We said we are not going to put any bars, and we argued with them and said, "Let us do it our way. If you have a problem then we'll look at another solution but right now we are not putting any bars on the windows." They kept insisting....you know, "People will break in....do this, do that...." That place has been open since December 19, 1986, and they haven't had one broken window as a result of vandalism. No problem at all. There are no bars and no guards at night.

Our philosophy has always been if you treat people like animals they are going to act like animals. If you treat people like decent human beings, treat them like you'd like to be treated yourself, nine out of ten times they are going to respond in kind. And that's exactly what happened.

The point is that in this so-called bad section where you had these supposedly bad people, nothing happened. I planted a few thousand dollars worth of roses, azaleas, rhododendrons, and people said, "You can't do that—the kids will come and pick them up." Hey! No problem. There is no fence around, you know what I mean? So how come? And this is supposed to be the bad section of the city.

Our philosophy has always been if you treat people like animals they are going to act like animals. If you treat people like decent human beings, treat them like you'd like to be treated yourself, nine out of ten times they are going to respond in kind. And that's exactly what happened.

Pandya: What difference has all this made in the black community?

Guscott: It made a difference in that the community is a little better off now because they see that somebody cares, and the fact that it is one of their own makes it even better. So that's the difference. Some of the people around will come up to you and say, "Gee, that was a great job!" Even though they may be into drugs, they recognize that somebody is doing something for the community. You've got to get involved and control things and see that certain things get done and the only way you're going to do it is by doing it yourself.

Pandya: How is your relationship with the city and other developers?

Guscott: We have a pretty good relationship with the city and with some of the other majority developers. We talked to them on occasion about joint ventures but we did not go through with them.

Pandya: Do they use minority workers and suppliers?

Guscott: Some are better in this than others, in terms of utilizing minorities. Again that's what we try to do—utilize minority suppliers whenever we can. The best example is in Miami where the dollar turns around five to seven times before it leaves the Hispanic community. In the black community you are lucky if it sleeps there overnight. If it turns around once you are lucky but it shouldn't be that way. If you are going to develop a community it can't be that way. That's one of the reasons why we make sure that we put dollars in the hands of minority people, and we also encourage them to do the same. They in turn will turn those dollars within the community so that more people benefit. No sense in getting a majority company person and paying him $100,000; that majority person may not have any minority workers and he's going to take that $100,000 and put it in a bank in, say, Newton. That's not going to do much good here. So we utilize a minority bank and we have a payroll in the minority bank, thereby forcing the workers to go there and maybe set up an account there. That's the way it works. The other ethnic groups do the same thing. It's just that we haven't gotten as sophisticated as some of the other ones.

The best example is in Miami where the dollar turns around five to seven times before it leaves the Hispanic community. In the black community you are lucky if it sleeps there overnight.

Pandya: So, do you think minority developers—and the black community—are getting their fair share of the state's resources?

Guscott: [No.] That's what that Mandela thing was all about. I think I know the reasons why no one wants to talk about this, and I think one of the prime reasons is when people know what kind of percentages they truly represent, they feel different about themselves and about their situation.

Pandya: What did you think of the Mandela campaign? [The Mandela campaign was an effort behind a referendum to take steps towards separating from the city of Boston the area surrounding and including predominately black neighborhoods and incorporating this separated area as the new city of Mandela, named after Nelson Mandela. The referendum failed in the 1984 election and again in the 1988 election. This interview took place just prior to the 1988 election.]

Guscott: I thought that the argument that they made had a lot of validity to it, and I think it affected the powers that be to the point that they are now starting to do things that they should have done a long time ago. I think the Mandela campaign would have probably passed if they had better communications in terms of publicizing what they were really about. I'll tell you something else. You can measure how important the situation was by the opposition to it, by the effort that was made to oppose it and by the dollars that were paid to defeat it.

Pandya: Are you saying that a lot of money was flowing?

Guscott: You better believe it. Oh, yes! A lot of money was flowing to crush it. That tells you something. The amount of effort that was being organized and directed towards crushing it, you gotta say there has to be something to this, otherwise why this maximum effort to destroy it? What made me start looking at it a little differently was when I realized the efforts the powers that be were making to get rid of it.

Abha Pandya is a freelance journalist and has published in the Christian Science Monitor and in newspapers and magazines in India. She is a staff writer for the Citywide Educational Coalition and is working on a book on the Mandela Campaign.

Welfare Reform: A Summary and Analysis of Current U.S. Congressional Debate Over the Family Security Act of 1988

by
Bette Woody

Following a lengthy and protracted debate, the 100th U.S. Congress passed PL 100-485, the Family Security Act of 1988, the first major public assistance legislative reform package since passage of the Social Security Act of the late 1930s. The debate over welfare is a long and continuing one which is not expected to end with the current reform. This article presents a brief review of competing perspectives on current legislative reforms related to current law. It does not attempt to tackle the more fundamental debate over the validity or the objectives of welfare, nor does it tackle the complex set of issues related to income distribution. Many forces framed congressional debate during the past decade. Pressures were strong for change under the Reagan Administration and a conservative debate ensued. These pressures will be reviewed here in three parts: first, a brief overview of Senate and House legislative proposals of the 100th Congress; second, an analysis of changes in the final Conference Bill, comparing its provisions with current law; finally, a review of the Bill's most controversial aspects in the context of future debate.

Background to the Current Welfare Reform Debate

Over 50 years have passed since the Social Security Act was passed, establishing a series of programs to aid families and individuals in serious economic need. In the 1935 law, emphasis was placed on insurance programs, financed through payroll taxes and trust-fund arrangements to avert poverty among two groups, the elderly and the temporarily unemployed. Included under Title IV of the 1935 Act was what became the most controversial program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). AFDC was a cash transfer program, limited in scope and initially intended as a temporary stop-gap measure for widows and their dependents until the more permanent insurance program, Old Age Survivors and Dependents Insurance (OASDI), came into force. Over the 50 years since AFDC was initiated, however, it has remained the principal source of cash assistance to poor children and their families. Dozens of legislative reforms have been proposed, which alternatively restricted and liberalized benefits.[1] The long history of reform reflects a debate characterized by conflict over eligibility, payment levels, and, above all, differing assumptions about the relationship between public assistance and work.[2]

The concept of welfare is deeply rooted in U.S. folklore and tradition as synonymous with personal failure or disfunctional social behavior. During the 1960s, however, a new public recognition took place, identifying the causes of poverty in structural economic terms. Assistance in general, including cash transfers to the poor, became increasingly legitimate. But the historical stigma of the "dole," continued to be pressed by conservatives, who did not want to put poor families on a more liberal and less stigmatized income support basis. Conservative thinking was particularly opposed to helping those most victimized by stagnant or backward regional economic systems (i.e., the rural South), or by structural changes in the industrial economy that resulted in long-term unemployment and income decline.[3] Throughout the post-war period welfare reforms remained marginal at best.

In contrast to the U.S. tradition, other industrial economies evolved far more coherent policies at the national level to resolve what were seen as political threats from income inequalities in the society, from unemployment increases resulting from economic downswings. Most programs in Europe and Canada were made politically neutral by incorporating a combination of insurance and cash transfers (family assistance, child allowances, housing, and national health insurance) and through the elimination of

"means tests" or other stigmatizing rules.

The welfare reforms of the 1980s reflected both the conservative politics of the Reagan presidency and the dramatic expansion of the welfare state, which even liberal social policy supporters acknowledged as a serious budgetary pressure. The conservative-liberal debate over welfare in the 1980s has been widely acknowledged to have roots in two relatively recent theories about poverty. According to one, epitomized by Charles Murray's book, *Losing Ground*, welfare itself is the cause of poverty; a second theory argues that the growth of a new underclass has reshaped the nature of poverty. The proponents of the "underclass" hypothesis, however, were careful to separate out a newly defined underclass population, consisting of a small but visible subgroup, from poor populations whose status was exceptionally marginal. The underclass question was further defined by William J. Wilson in geographic (urban) and structural economic boundary terms.[4]

> *The long history of [welfare] reform reflects a debate characterized by conflict over eligibility, payment levels, and, above all, differing assumptions about the relationship between public assistance and work.*

Much of the content of the welfare reform of the 1980s was shaped by the Reagan administration. A recent study by Axinn and Stern points out that Reagan himself framed the reform debate by accepting a particularly provocative perspective. Rejecting an earlier view of welfare reform put forth by his chief domestic policy architect, Martin Anderson, who focused on change to address the truly needy, Reagan, in a 1986 State of the Union Address, fully embraced the Charles Murray view that welfare was indeed a cause of poverty, that it stopped personal initiative and encouraged laziness and dependency.[5] While no specific proposals for ending welfare were made by the Reagan administration, reactions to the challenge came in the form of studies and legislative proposals in 1987 and 1988:

> In rapid succession, the American Public Welfare Associations (representing public administrators), a task force appointed by New York Governor Mario Cuomo and the Bipartisan Project on the Welfare of Families, issued reports. These were followed by a major report and lobbying effort by the National Governor's Association, with Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts taking the lead in publicizing the report. In the Senate, both Ted Kennedy, the new chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, and Daniel Moynihan, head of the Finance Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy, began promoting welfare reform and family legislation.[6]

The Rise of the Welfare State and Federal-State Relations: Their Influence on Legislative Reform

The long-term debate over public assistance reflects a conflict over the rise of the welfare state in the United States during the post-war period. The welfare state debate includes social policy issues, as well as issues of cost and of resource allocation among competing public priorities. Largely due to shifting public opinion in favor of higher societal standards and greater equity, all forms of assistance to individuals expanded rapidly as programs providing cash, unemployment insurance, health, housing, educational services, and other benefits escalated. The system targeted specific populations, and the populations that gained the most were the elderly, the unemployed, veterans, and the physically and mentally disabled. Total government outlays in income security cash programs grew from about $26 billion in 1966 to over $125 billion in 1978. Over $115 billion was paid to OASDI populations in 1980, compared to $11 billion to AFDC populations.[7] And the total social welfare expenditure—federal, state, and local—was far higher. Some of the increase reflected demographic change and inflation; but total health, education, and welfare expenditures grew from 10.3% of the 1960 gross national product (GNP) to 18% by 1984.[8] Allocation among eligible populations was generally punitive to poor children and families. For example, OASDI 1980 expenditures were nearly $108 billion and Medicare added $8.7 billion. AFDC expenditures were $12.5 billion with $7.5 billion for Medicaid.[9] Further, as Ellwood and Summers note, there was an actual decline in per capita AFDC expenditures in the 1980s because of benefit-level changes and the tightening of eligibility rules; this happened despite the increase in the number of people living in single-parent families.[10] While budgetary growth solved problems of some "poor," inequalities widened among recipient groups, and a growing number of the needy fell outside the public system altogether.[11] In the 1980s AFDC expenditures in cash transfers amounted to only a bit more than 1% of the GNP, equivalent at best to only about 10% of Social Security Insurance payments, moving only 5% of poor people out of poverty annually. Problems with public cash assistance programs that can be sharply high-lighted are: (1) the contrast between the Social Security Insurance program administrative uniformity and AFDC; and (2) the limited role of AFDC in helping poor families, particularly where one or more adults are employed.

During the past two decades advocates on both liberal and conservative sides of the political spectrum emerged to shape a vigorous new debate about

family assistance. Liberals argued for more basic reform to redistribute personal income and mediate those disadvantaged in the market system because of age, race, or disability. Following thinking established in other developed western economies, various proposals were introduced, including family assistance, family allowances, and special tax treatment.[12] By contrast, conservatives focused on program costs and long-range impacts of programs on family breakup. And they continued to argue that AFDC discouraged work effort.

Despite the importance of the debates of the 1970s, the reforms currently passed by the 100th Congress grew out of the somewhat more narrow focus of the 1980s. The Reagan administration policy and the famous budgetary containment actions of Congress were incorporated into the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (OBRA). Two important strategies also laid the stage for 1988 welfare proposals. The first strategy, consistent with Reagan's policy of shifting social programs' responsibilities and costs back to the states, was state-level experimentation, widely publicized in mandatory work and in work/training requirements as a condition for receipt of cash assistance. The second strategy was a separate congressional effort to reform national program structure, including eligibility, grant levels, state and federal cost sharing, and state administrative responsibility. Both state and federal initiatives ended by becoming narrowly focused on cost and administrative issues, leaving aside social program reform introduced during the prior decade, such as tax treatment and child allowances.

The long-term debate over public assistance reflects a conflict over the rise of the welfare state in the United States during the post-war period.

The states produced a number of independent actions and programs during the 1980s. The most widely publicized, and most sharply contrasting, were those of California and Massachusetts. The San Diego County and statewide Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN) program in California centered on compulsory work requirements ("workfare") in return for cash grants. The California Community Work Experience Program (CWP) required assistance recipients to "work off" benefits, to avoid conflict with either established public employment or with the administration of private sector placements.[13] By contrast, the Massachusetts E.T. Choices program offered a voluntary employment-training component to AFDC and less stringent work requirements than other workfare programs.[14] Both the California and Massachusetts programs influenced congressional debate and legislative reform.

At the federal level, the U.S. Congress developed legislative proposals during a two year debate. Strong pressures coming from the states, from the Reagan administration, and from conservative and liberal advocates outside government were reflected in some 17 different legislative proposals introduced in both houses of Congress during the 99th and 100th Congress.[15] Two compromise bills emerged in the 100th Congress, one from each house: a Senate bill, S-1511, proposed by Moynihan, et al, and a House bill, HR 1720, proposed by Ford, et al. With the elections of 1988 returning the Senate to a Democratic majority the House Bill was finally accepted by the Senate as a substitute for the more controversial S-1511, with some amendments added to ensure acceptance by the now even greater Democratic majority in the House. By September 1988 an amended HR 1720 was presented to both houses.

PL-100-485: Family Security Act of 1988

PL-100-485 as passed represents a considerable liberalization of the more controversial compromise S-1511. This act includes better protection for recipients' access to assistance, higher service level requirements for states, and better funding. There are also stronger child support enforcement provisions and there is more attention to education and training preparation for work. The chief remaining problems include an absence of mandated uniform national grant standards; continuing state discretion in grant levels and program content; stringent work requirements for some less able populations.

The legislation PL-100-485 replaces AFDC under Title IV of the Social Security Act with a "Family Security Act," which grants "family support supplements." The legislation takes up the question of a national uniform standard, but postpones it by calling for a commission study and recommendations. Employment is mandatory for most able-bodied adults. But there is an increased emphasis on training, education, and job placement, as well as extended services through an initial work period of up to one year. This is particularly true of the most critical services, child care and Medicaid. There is strong attention to child support enforcement at the state levels; provisions are made for state legal actions against absent fathers across state lines and for speedy follow through. Finally, unemployed parents in two-parent families are eligible for participation in training and grants. There are problems which remain in an "open ended" work requirement and in state discretion on mandated work even when unemployment levels are high. Other problematic state discretion areas already noted are grant levels, eligibility determination, work program content, and service mixes. Appendix A gives an outline of the provisions of the Act.

Problems with the New Family Security Act

A number of problems remain with the current legislation as passed, some of which have been identified by advocates and other legislative interests, including individual states. A brief review follows.

National Uniform Grant Standards

Policy analysts and reform thinkers have long argued that a national standard for minimum grants is critical to any reform in public assistance. Reasons include equity within and across the states and enforcement of anti-discrimination practices. States such as New York and California may face higher costs of immigration of the poor from less liberal states, particularly if unemployment is high in out-migration states. This explains some of the current "cueing" and rationing problems in New York for example.[16] Setting some national standard based on a cost of living index, as in the case of Social Security, may help avert current political pressures to keep assistance levels far below minimum and prevailing wages in many states, as well as to adjust for business cycle unemployment. As for the controversial issue of full federal payment of cash transfers, as long as the states are required to absorb one-quarter of the costs of cash transfers, such payment will face considerable resistance.

Work Requirement for Assistance

From the liberal perspective, the work requirement has been the most controversial aspect of reform. Here are the pros and cons as recently outlined by Michael Weisman:[17]

Pro Work Argument. Effective test of need; reduces welfare costs; preserves or enhances skills and contributes to employability; makes welfare more equitable, particularly for non-welfare recipients who are not eligible for Medicaid and child care such as the working poor; gains political support for public assistance.

Against Work Argument. Stigmatizes the poor; runs counter to the traditional focus of reform, which is on systems of universal income support such as a negative income tax or non-intrusive cash assistance; costs of program operations tend to be high.

The proposed legislation creates a mandatory work requirement that extends current directions. There are some technical objections to the work provisions, such as the age of the child set at three years (advocates prefer six years) and no limit on the duration of the work requirement. There are positive safeguards, however, mandating states to provide training and education, support services, and extended benefits. There are also exemptions for good cause.

Inadequate Services and Benefits

It is generally difficult to isolate welfare reform policy initiatives. Nowhere is this more visible than in child care and medical (Medicaid) benefits. States are required to provide extended child care and medical assistance throughout the training/education and placement period of recipients and for 12 months following employment. These costs, however, raise two questions. First, whether or not recipients—generally women with low skills—will be able to raise pay after 12 months on the job to levels where child care costs can be covered by paychecks; and second, whether they can find employers with prepaid health insurance plans. Our current research indicates that in 1982 over 40% of the women's workforce is employed part-time, and less than one-quarter overall have employer cost-shared health insurance coverage.[18]

Jobs Program Funding Adequacy

Finally, there is concern over whether the JOBS program is adequately funded. For example, the legislation provides no additional administrative costs for the Supplemental Work Program and requires states to pick up costs of counseling. Overall, the program requires states to hold harmless differentials between pay from work and public assistance. In most cases, because benefit levels are low, full-time minimum wage jobs will rise above assistance grants, but, in somewhat contradictory fashion, states are required to keep community work program payment levels consistent with grant levels.

Conclusions

This report has been limited in its focus to legislative reform, reform which reflects the Congress's decision to take an "incremental" approach to the very complex and controversial issue of welfare reform. It is limited in two ways. First, it does not account for the very large related policy issues of health care (Medicaid and Medicare) benefits. While other legislation is pending on medical insurance, there is a continued risk that poor families may be "lost" in the debate over costs of the more prominent elderly needs. Another inadequacy of the new law is its lack of attention to job training and job development and its failure to address the inadequacy of minimum wages as a support for families. In fact, since most recent labor statistics indicate that the bulk of jobs created in the current economy are "contingency jobs" (less than full-time, full-year

> *Despite the importance of the debates of the 1970s, the reforms currently passed by the 100th Congress grew out of the somewhat more narrow focus of the 1980s.*

work schedules), reduced family income from work is the key to "work" as a feasible alternative to welfare. Finally, minorities constitute a minority of beneficiaries of AFDC currently, but there is a disproportionate dependency of minorities on these cash transfers, which can be related directly to staggering unemployment rates among black and Hispanic males. In fact, since statistics indicate that the growth in black women heading households from 17% to over 50% over the last 30 years corresponds to a rising rate of unemployment among black males, the issue of AFDC is inextricably bound up with wage levels in jobs held by women, as well as with retraining black males and Hispanics.

The Family Security Act proposed can thus be summarized in two ways. First, it is an improvement over the present law in that it establishes work as a goal and offers an alternative to AFDC as currently organized. It also works towards a national payment and eligibility standard. A lingering criticism, however, is that national policy has yet to move towards 100% national funding for cash transfers to poor families. Without this, no truly fundamental reform, such as the family assistance and negative income tax programs widespread in other Western democracies, is at all likely to take place here.

Appendix A
Outline of the Provisions of The Welfare Reform/Family Security Act: PL-100-485

Provision	*Requirements*
Benefit Rules	Most unmarried minor parents (28 years or less) to live with parents or guardians Repeals the counting of grandparents' income for grant Federal standard benefit level to be studied; state discretion continued
Work Obligations	Each state must establish education, training, and employment program Requires participation of all non-exempt adults with the following priorities (in order): 1. Teenage parents 2. Those enrolled in welfare two years or more 3. Those with preschoolers; those with children under three years (one year at state option) 4. Those parents unemployed one year or more or lacking high school diploma 5. Those whose youngest child is within two years of being ineligible for support grants

Provision	*Requirements*
	Exemptions include: 1. Parent (or other family member) ill or incapacitated 2. Person works 30 or more hours per week 3. Person less than 16-years-old or full-time student 4. Person has child under three years (or one year at state discretion) 5. Person pregnant within three months of eligibility 6. Work results in less than minimum wage and/or reduction in prior income 7. Person resides in part of state where program is not available
If child care is provided and participation is restricted to part-time:	
State Obligation for Services (Child care, transportation, Medicaid)	Requires states to: 1. Provide child care or reimbursement up to $175 per month for child under two years or up to $200 per month for child two years or older for six months 2. Provide two of these three options:

Provision	*Requirements*
	(a) State education/training activities (b) Work supplement program (using child support supplement payments to subsidize jobs) (c) Community work experience to be included in work supplement 3. Provide case manager and contract with participants
Two-Parent Families	Requires states to offer aid to needy two-parent families where principal earner is unemployed; state can count four quarters school/training as work
Treatment of Earnings	States permitted to: 1. Disregard $100 monthly plus one-quarter remaining earnings 2. Disregard child care costs from earnings up to $200 per month 3. Disregard earned income tax credit as income (EITC)
Medicaid	Requires states to: 1. Continue Medicaid six months after family loses eligibility because of earnings or collection of child support 2. Offer families with earnings an additional six months coverage
Child Care Transition	Extends child care on sliding scale basis up to nine months for employed recipient after termination of child support
Child Support	Provides guidelines for setting awards given (to tighten judicial discretion) Requires mandatory state withholding of payments from absent parent following court orders Sets national standards for state's performance in establishing paternity Requires social security number of both parents on birth certificate at time of birth States may require unemployed absent parent to participate in employment training

References

[1]Rogers, H., Jr. (1986). Reducing Poverty Through Family Support. In H. Rogers, Jr. (Ed.), *Beyond Welfare*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. Pp. 42, 84.

[2]Axinn, J. & Stern, M.J. (1988). *Dependency and Poverty*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, Inc. P. 5.

[3]Axinn & Stern. (1988). *Dependency and Poverty*. Pp. 3, 4.

[4]Axinn & Stern. (1988). *Dependency and Poverty*. P. 98. Wilson, W.J. (1987). *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. P. 139.

[5]Axinn & Stern. (1988). *Dependency and Poverty*. P. 5.

[6]Axinn & Stern. (1988). *Dependency and Poverty*. P. 5.

[7]Levitan, S.A. (1986). *Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1980s*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. Pp. 24–29.

[8]Axinn & Stern. (1988). *Dependency and Poverty*. Pp. 3, 4.

[9]Ellwood, D.T. & Summers, L.H. (1986). Poverty in America: Is Welfare the Answer or the Problem? In S.H. Danziger & D.H. Weinberg (Eds.), *Fighting Poverty*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. P. 85.

[10]Ellwood & Summers. (1986). Poverty in America. P. 86.

[11]Ellwood & Summers. (1986). Poverty in America.

[12]Rogers. (1986). Reducing Poverty.

[13]Wiseman, M. (1986). Workfare and Welfare Reform. In H. Rogers, Jr. (Ed.), *Beyond Welfare*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

[14]Wiseman. (1986). Workfare and Welfare Reform. Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare. (1988, March). CMAAP CMG.

[15]Burke, V. & Solomon, C.D. (1987, January 20; updated 1987, July 22). *Welfare Reform: Brief Summaries of Selected Major Proposals*. (CRS Report to Congress, 87-309 EPW). Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service.

[16]Barbanel, J. (1988, August 29). Crisis of the Welfare System: Seeking Benefits Through Judges. *New York Times*. Roberts, S. (1988, February 18). Applying Logic and Equity to Welfare. *New York Times*.

[17]Wiseman. (1986). Workfare and Welfare Reform.

[18]Woody, B. & Malson, M. (1984). In Crisis: Low Income Black Employed Women in the U.S. Workplace. *Working Paper No. 31*. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women.

Bette Woody is a Research Associate with the William Monroe Trotter Institute and associate professor at the College of Public and Community Services, University of Massachusetts at Boston.

Book Review

by
Winston E. Langley

The Poor and the Powerless: Economic Policy and Change in the Caribbean, by Clive Y. Thomas, Monthly Review Press, New York. 1988. 396 pp.

With only brief interludes, the Caribbean area has for the past five centuries been a center of global power struggles and internal sociopolitical upheavals of the first order. Those struggles and upheavals show no signs of abating as we move into the twenty-first century. Indeed, there appears to be a consensus among scholars and political leaders in the region that the area now faces problems of crisis proportions.

This shared view that there exists a crisis does not, however, bespeak any agreement on the cause and character of that crisis or the nature of its solution. One who studies the Caribbean will quickly discover that the claimed causes and proffered solutions for the problems of the region are many and varied. *The Poor and the Powerless*, by Professor Clive Y. Thomas, author of several studies on the Caribbean and Director of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Guyana, seeks to examine the present crisis from the standpoint of the powerless, "those who, under prevailing social and institutional arrangements, are or have been unable to exercise any control over the workings of the state, the machinery of production and all other established institutions of social authority."

Professor Thomas's conclusion is that for the powerless this is not so much a current crisis as it is the continuation of a crisis that has been going on for 500 years. Having advanced the notion of permanent crisis, the author does not deny other forms—those he calls periodic crises. These periodic crises, he contends, arise at certain historical junctures as dramatic accentuations of enduring socioeconomic structures: e.g., the maldistribution of income, wealth, and access to productive resources; the "scissors squeeze" on land brought about by the "disintegration of domestic food systems and difficulties with traditional export crops...and the rapid rise of TNC agro-processing industries based on imported inputs;" the enormous, persistent, and increasing unemployment; the high rates of emigration among skilled workers; the massive flight of capital—to mention a few.

To prove his claim, Thomas undertakes a history of economic development in the Caribbean (using Jamaica, Grenada, Guyana, Barbados, and Trinidad as case studies), although his primary interest is to analyze and interpret the economic development of the region since World War II. In doing so, he not only details the evolution of the ongoing crisis and the expression of the periodic ones, but he invites the reader to grapple with the policy choices which, historically, have been made. Further, the reader gains an appreciation of the fact that alternative policies could have been pursued in the "development programs" of the region.

Thomas, in his analysis, appraises and disposes of many of the claimed causes of the Caribbean's problems—larger global struggle, state intervention with freedom of the marketplace, weakness in ideology, defects in old paradigms, too little technology. He does the same with the solutions offered—from structural adjustment, aid, and privatization to militarization and the search for new sources of external trade. In all of these he demonstrates the region's continued dependency on and subjugation to external control, the oppression and impoverishment of a large majority of the people who live there. So what alternatives do the poor and the powerless have? To lend support to, to agitate for, an alternative path to development.

This alternative path, according to Thomas, must be grounded on a *popular conception*, not on the conception (and the economic configurations this conception has produced) of the political and technological leadership. It is not in the interest of this leadership to satisfy the needs of a largely peasant and working class population, but rather to reinforce the existing unequal distribution of wealth and income. It is not in the interest of this leadership to effect a proper reconciliation between resource endowments and resource use but rather to produce resources according to the demand of the international capitalist system. These interests support a pattern of property ownership that has produced progressively worsening inequalities.

The alternative path would direct agricultural production towards supplying the needs of the local population and, as an extension, facilitating export specialization. This, of course, will entail radical land reform. Industrialization programs would be designed to produce basic materials; and academic emphasis would be geared toward raising the level of general and technical literacy. Thomas feels that this alternative path has already been opened up by, and is "indissolubly linked" to, the on-going social experiments in Cuba and Nicaragua.

The book is well-researched, accessible to the political economist and to the general reader with a multidisciplinary approach that allows the reader to gain several analytical perspectives. I recommend it to all who are interested in the problems of the Caribbean.

William E. Langley, Ph.D., is professor of Political Science and member of the Program of International Relations at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

Book Review

by
Vernon J. Williams, Jr.

The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality, by George M. Fredrickson, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, CT. 1988. 298 pp.

The Arrogance of Race is George M. Fredrickson's latest work, and it is a profound one. This series of articles, many of which have been published previously, was written over a span of some 20 years and represents the mature reflections of one of this country's leading intellectual historians. The work should be read by all serious students of race and racism.

Fredrickson is a humanist who locates his ideology "somewhere on the social-democratic left" and regards "racial injustice as a distinctive evil, more heinous than class inequality found in liberal capitalist societies." It is his ethical belief that "demoting other people from the ranks of humanity on grounds of race or ethnicity, and treating them accordingly, is a sin of unique and horrendous character." He views it as his task in this ambitious work to demonstrate that racism is "the product of historical circumstances involving the interaction of class, culture, and politics" (p. 7). In other words, he seeks to distinguish his own theoretical assumptions about race and class from "those of both the neo-Marxian materialists and the idealist historians who tend to treat race consciousness as a transcendent 'given' that is peculiarly resistant to contextual or situational analysis" (p. 110).

In his essays that analyze the American South during slavery and the segregation era and South Africa, Fredrickson draws on the theories of the "Minotaur," Max Weber, rather than Karl Marx. Although Weber assigned great significance to class, his emphasis on status—that is, "the life styles and the distribution of honor and prestige in a society"—suggested that one's position in society need not "coincide with class differences or hierarchies based on relationships to the market or the means of production" (p. 158). Fredrickson, who like Weber is hostile to monocausal explanations of history, beckons scholars to "pay close attention to the *interaction* of ethnic status and class without assigning an *a priori* predominance to either" (p. 159). In so doing, Fredrickson believes one can explain why non-slaveholding whites of the Old South, who had no material stake in slavery, hated and despised blacks. Furthermore, Fredrickson thinks the "ethnic status" of most whites in the post-bellum South, which was derived from the fact that blacks occupied the lowest stratum in the southern class system, was an important causal factor in the terrorist activities of the Ku Klux Klan and other vigilante groups. Proponents of the view that the folk, in their resistance to modernity, are somehow inherently good will find scant comfort in Fredrickson's remark that "injustice and cruelty come from the bottom up as well as from the top down, and from precapitalist as well as capitalist sources" (p. 170).

Fredrickson's essays in comparative history are insightful and ambitious. It is his contention that one of the significant features that distinguishes the history of race relations in the United States from those in South Africa is the presence of "an American conscience on issues involving equal access to citizenship." This "color-blind republicanism," which flowed through the abolitionists, the Radical Republicans, and the NAACP, Fredrickson argues, was "empowered" when "powerful material interests ceased actively supporting the cause of white supremacy" (p. 229). Fredrickson has indeed raised an important issue here, and this reviewer questions whether "color blind" egalitarianism will be sufficient to weather the problems of the twenty-first century. Fredrickson has performed a significant service in addressing major issues of race and racism in this wide-ranging and refreshingly rigorous work.

Vernon J. Williams is Assistant Professor of History at Rhode Island College and a Research Associate at the William Monroe Trotter Institute.

Sports Notes

by
Wornie L. Reed

The Minimal Pay of College Athletes

The recent conviction of sports agents Norby Walters and Lloyd Bloom on charges of racketeering and fraud may hasten the day when college sports will be seen as the businesses they are, and college athletes will be seen as "subminimum-wage" employees of these businesses. Certainly, Bloom and Walters are unsavory characters; they are guilty of several criminal activities, including extortion. But what should not go unnoticed is the fact that they were found guilty of committing fraud against colleges because they signed athletes to contracts before their college eligibility was up.

These men were convicted of fraud because the athletes on scholarship were deemed to have a "contractual" relationship with the universities, and these "contracts" cannot be broken at the will of the athlete. Under the contract, a college athlete plays a sport and in exchange is provided with a scholarship. Before we examine the inequality of this "contract," let's take a look at "breaking" the contract. Contrast this with a student who is on a marching band scholarship. Such a student can stop school anytime he wishes and start a professional career. So can drama students and academic scholarship recipients. Any student except a scholarship athlete in one of the major sports can stop school anytime he chooses and work in any business or profession he wishes. The situation is extremely inconsistent.

College sports in Division 1 of the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) is big business. Some ten years ago a newly-hired athletic director at the University of Missouri stated in his first interview that his main job was to generate funds, and he indicated that this was his strong suit. The business aspect of college sports is clear if one examines the recently completed NCAA Division 1 basketball tournament.

Receipts in the tournament totalled $66,300,000 from television contracts, ticket sales, and other sources. Some $35 million was shared among the teams. Duke, Illinois, Michigan, and Seton Hall—the "final four" teams—received $1,251,000 each. The four teams that lost to these final four teams in the regional finals received over $1 million. Teams that lost in the regional semifinals received $750,600 each. Teams that lost in the second round were paid $500,400; and teams that lost in the first round received $250,700 each. Consequently, each of the 64 invited teams were guaranteed at least $250,000.

The big payouts in this year's basketball tournament followed the big checks to football bowl teams. The Fiesta Bowl opponents, West Virginia and Notre Dame, each received a guaranteed $3 million. But these receipts are extras. Basketball and football teams receive the bulk of their income from ticket sales (to home games) and radio and television rights. Income from these sources can be substantial. For example, the University of Michigan's football stadium has 105,000 seats. At $20 per ticket this means that the Michigan football team receives over $2 million six times a year from attendance alone. Another $500,000 to $1,000,000 is received from radio and television.

For generating all of this revenue, the college athlete is "paid" about $6,500 to cover his tuition, room, and board. Most players also receive a small stipend for books, supplies, and laundry. This is a very small wage for such a profitable business.

Big-time college sports is an entertainment business from which large benefits are realized—but not by the players. Basketball coaches are a case in point. Many of the coaches in the top programs earn more than professional basketball coaches. The Kentucky position is reported to be worth $1,000,000 a year. Believe it or not, college basketball coaches receive up to $300,000 a year for having their players wear a certain brand of sneakers. In terms of worth and compensation, a case might be made that we've got the shoe on the wrong foot!

When confronted with this type of information, university spokespersons say that in exchange for their "work" these athletes receive a college education. There are several problems with that position, not the least of which is the fact that most big-time college sports teams are at state schools. Consequently, the out-of-pocket expenses for an education at these schools seldom exceed $7,000 per year—which is a minimal wage for the work—30 hours a week—not at all on the scale of revenue these athletes generate. Another problem with the "college education" argument is that so few of the players actually get an education. For example, of the 20 black students who played for Memphis State University's basketball team between 1976 and 1986, only one graduated. Jim Valvano's North Carolina State basketball team has had only one or two blacks to graduate in the last ten years—and the list goes on.

> *It may very well be time to declare these sports as businesses and to treat the athletes as the underpaid workers they are.*

According to an article in *Sports Illustrated*, former Iowa football player Ronnie Harper took only one course toward his computer science major during his three years of college. His curriculum included watercolor painting, ancient athletics, recreational leisure, advanced slo-pitch softball, and billiards. There are many other publicized examples of

these academic shams. Athletes are enrolled in these types of courses so that they can stay eligible to perform on the field and have plenty of time for practice. After their eligibility is completed, they do not usually remain in school, as they are no longer needed. A small proportion become professional athletes, but most just end up cheated out of an education. An example of the cruel aspect of this business is what happens to a player who suffers a career-ending injury. Several years ago many schools would discontinue the scholarship; and despite the reforms of recent years, many of the athletes suffering such injuries find themselves leaving school. One state legislator has pushed legislation to have athletes in his state covered by workmen's compensation laws. It may very well be time to declare these sports as businesses and to treat the athletes as the underpaid workers they are.

Bowling For Real Dollars

After nine years on the tour, Cheryl Daniels became the first black woman to win a Ladies Professional Bowling Tour (LPBT) title in April of 1989. This personable bowler won two more tournaments in May to establish herself as a top clutch performer. Prior to the creation of the LPBT in 1981 the women's tour was run by the Women's Professional Bowling Association. Within that organization Edith Burroughs became the first black to win a national level title when she won in 1979. Thus, there have been only two black women national tour winners.

The men's tour, the Professional Bowlers Association (PBA), has fared no better in terms of black winners. Since the PBA's founding in 1959 no black man won a tournament until George Branham won in 1986. He won again in 1987 to claim the only two national titles won by a black on the men's tour.

These results may appear strange for at least three reasons. First, blacks are competing and winning in most sports, certainly in most if not all sports that are as popular as bowling. Second, there are thousands of black bowlers from which champions could conceivably develop. And third, bowling is generally associated in the public's mind—certainly in the print media—with the working class (unlike, say, golf or tennis). And more blacks are working class than middle class.

On the other hand, there is at least one critical reason why blacks have not won more titles: financial sponsorship. Unlike most professional sports, bowling is unsalaried, and it requires substantial funding for travel and living expenses. Bowlers, like golfers, must pay their own expenses, including tournament entry fees. Black bowlers have had a great deal of difficulty in getting financial sponsors, an essential element for bowlers in their first couple of years on the tour.

In addition, black bowlers have been the victims of subtle harassment by other players, as have black golfers. As recently as the 1970s, black male bowlers were complaining to black bowling fans about unsportsmanlike tactics used by their white competitors to break their concentration during matches. Perhaps these recent victories by young black professionals signal a new era in professional bowling.

Commentary

(Continued from page 3)

Affirmative Action

I am convinced that one of the reasons for the outbreak of racial violence on college campuses is the fact that faculty as well as students—who have no vested interest in civil rights gains, progress, or peace—are reacting to the misuses and abuses of *affirmative action*. Many individuals were quite in favor of the civil rights gains for blacks in the 1960s; others went along because it brought peace—and they preferred peace to strife. Currently we have a new generation—one that has neither of these perspectives of civil rights. And in addition, we have the maligned affirmative action laws. Many majority group faculty as well as students consider affirmative action programs to be racial-preference programs that unfairly discriminate against (white) individuals, which is to misinterpret the meaning of racism.

In 1981, before the Reagan administration's reorganization and redirection of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Commission affirmed its "unwavering support for affirmative action plans and the full range of affirmative action measures necessary to make equal opportunity a reality for historically excluded groups." They supported this position by concluding that "a steady flow of data shows unmistakably that most of the historic victims of discrimination are still being victimized...."[3]

Arguments against affirmative action have been raised under the banner of "reverse discrimination." Obviously there have been incidents of arbitrary action against white males, but the charge of "reverse discrimination," in essence, equates efforts to limit the process of discrimination with that process itself. Such an equation is profoundly and fundamentally incorrect. Affirmative measures should end when the discriminatory process ends. On the other

hand, without affirmative intervention it is highly unlikely the discriminatory process will ever end.

On university search committees we often hear the term "affirmative action candidate." In other words, the search in question has identified a minority person to interview in order to have an "appropriate" affirmative action search. I cannot think of a more perverse misuse of the process. No person should be interviewed unless they have the qualifications for the position. And when they do have the qualifications they should be seriously considered. To not take such issues more seriously is to demean the process and to effectively demean the minority person. When white professors and university staff persons reject or misuse affirmative action in their recruitment practices, they are indirectly inviting white students to reject the process and the minority students that process was designed to serve.

While racist behavior is hardly a new phenomenon in colleges and universities, the evidence clearly demonstrates that racial incidents have been taking place with increased frequency in the 1980s.

Competition for Dwindling Resources

Some observers also see the increase in violence against blacks as a result of the perception of whites that they are in competition for dwindling resources, and that black students are not only competing against white students for entry into the universities, they are also competing for jobs after graduation. Thus, black students are seen as an increasing threat to the future welfare of middle-class white students.

Is The University Culpable?

What role does the university play in the development of racial incidents? In other words, is the university culpable?

Universities have cultural goals, often so deeply implicit as to be transparent. One of these deeply implicit goals is the preservation of the belief system and the value orientations of society. Universities contribute to this preservation by transferring the cultural heritage from generation to generation through teaching.

It is in teaching that what is to be valued in the society is transmitted. It is not a long leap from "what" is to be valued to "who" is to be valued. It is in one sense strange that Euro-Americans can obtain college degrees without ever studying non-European cultures, when most of the world is non-white, and when the population of the United States is significantly non-white with the non-white proportion growing. But in another sense, that is, in the context of "culture preservation," it is not strange at all.

In this country we have had in the past couple of decades substantial discussions and analyses of the potentially harmful effects to minority youth of never seeing themselves, or persons like themselves, in their readings and coursework. As a result more and more grade school texts are including pictures and references to non-white persons. On the other hand, we have had relatively little discussion and analysis of the effects this situation has on white students. I would suggest that many white students learn or have reinforced "who" is of value as well as "what" is of value in society by what they study in school. If the coursework does not include the study of non-white persons, then it seems highly plausible that many of these students would act in a manner that is different from the way they would act if their coursework routinely included material on non-European cultures. By definition then, these non-Europeans tend to be seen as people who are not to be valued.

In conclusion, I would say that the university plays a major role in determining what happens on campus. If no changes are made in the definition of the "worthwhile" culture to be transmitted, we may have no change in the current racially-charged atmosphere. If changes are made so that the culture that is transmitted is reflective of a multi-cultural society—a *world* society—then we may be on the way toward changing the racial hostility on campus in particular and throughout the country in general.

References

[1]Turner, J. E. *Racism and Racial Antagonism in Contemporary American Society.* Unpublished manuscript.

[2]These centers include the Southern Poverty Law Center, the Center for Democratic Renewal, and the Klan Watch.

[3]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (1988). Affirmative Action in the 1980s: Dismantling the Process of Discrimination. In P. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Racism and Sexism: An Integrated Study.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Wornie L. Reed, Ph.D., is Chairperson of the Department of Black Studies and Director of the William Monroe Trotter Institute, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

William Monroe Trotter Institute
University of Massachusetts at Boston
Boston, Massachusetts 02125-3393

Address Correction Requested

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
Paid
Boston, MA
Permit No. 52094

Patricia Payne
~~Healy Library~~ CPCS
UMass/Boston